

THEIOS AOIDOS

A New Reading of the Lyre-Player Group of Seals

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Kinyras is the legendary king of Cyprus, best known from a brief cameo in the *Iliad* as a fellow Great King to Agamemnon, and from Ovid's late retelling of his incestuous seduction by Myrrha, his own daughter.² But a rich and scattered body of further references show that from very early on Kinyras served as the central culture hero of pre-Greek Cyprus.³ Two further ideas, seemingly tangential to this dominant paradigm, also stand out. First, several traditions held that Cyprus was not Kinyras' original home, which is variously located in Cilicia, Phoenicia, or Syria/Assyria.⁴ Second, a few sources make Kinyras a musician, or associate him with professional musicians.⁵ Kinyras increased considerably in depth and complexity with the demonstration in 1968 that the deified lyre Kinnaru (^{d.gi}*ki-na-rù*)—an early WS or areal form, cognate with both Heb. *kinnōr* and 'Gk.' *kinyra*—was listed in the 'pantheon' texts of Ugarit.⁶ The deification of musical instruments is well attested in Mesopotamia, especially for the Bronze Age, through god-lists, administrative documents, and ritual and literary texts. There are many Hurro-Hittite parallels in ritual texts from Hattusha, and a similar

¹ I am very pleased to offer this paper as a tribute to Françoise Létoublon, who has done so much to promote the study of θεσπῖς ἀοιδή.

² Homer *Iliad* 11.19–23 with Eustathios and Σ; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10.298–502.

³ See especially Baurain 1980; Franklin 2010; Franklin in press.

⁴ Sources collected in Franklin in press.

⁵ Eustathios and Σ on Homer *Iliad* 11.20; anonymous Byzantine poem: *Anecdota Graeca* (Cramer 1839–1841) 4:274.5–6.

⁶ Akkadian: RS 20.024; Ugaritic: RS 24.264 + 24.280. These texts are placed side-by-side with RS 1.017 (*KTU/CAT* 1.47) in Pardee 2000:292 and Pardee 2002:14. Note also Koitabashi 1992.

conception may underlie Egyptian chordophones affixed with a god's head. In Mesopotamian sources deified instruments and other cult-objects cannot be distinguished from 'real' gods: they received the same sorts of offerings, and—most important for the inevitable relationship between Kinnaru and Kinyras⁷—they could even appear in mythological narratives.⁸ This comparative evidence makes it practically certain that the Divine Kinnaru was not limited to Ugarit, but more widely current in Levant and North Syria during the second millennium.

In this paper I shall re-examine, in light of the Kinyras/Kinnaru question, a well-known body of archaeological evidence, the so-called Lyre-Player Group of Seals. I believe that this material, whose origin can now be confidently placed in eighth-century Cilicia (see below), offers our most thorough iconographical evidence for a Divine Lyre, and should be connected with the traditions allying Kinyras to Cilicia. Such a geographical association should be surprising neither for Kinyras himself,⁹ nor the seals' imagery, given the confluence of several factors: the existence of Kinnaru of Ugarit and probably other regional Syrian cognates; the Syro-Hurrian adstrate in Cilicia/Kizzuwatna; the persistence of Hittite royal ideology in the Neo-Hittite states; and Phoenician influence in IA Cilicia.

The Group was first identified by C. Blinkenberg in 1931, who described 14 specimens from Lindos (Rhodes) and another 31 images from various collections; he rather acutely detected a blend of Cypriot and 'late Hittite' elements, and made several

⁷ Ribichini 1982; Franklin 2006; Franklin in press; I shall treat the problem fully in Franklin forthcoming.

⁸ This appears most clearly from the *Gudea Cylinders* (c.2100); cf. Franklin 2006. For divinized objects generally, see Selz 1997; Selz 2008.

⁹ Kinyras and Cilicia: *Greek Anthology* 11.236 [Demodokos] = fr. 3 PLG/IEG; Σ Dionysios the Periegete 509 (GGM 2:450) = FGH 758 F 3a; [Apollodoros] *Library* 3.14.3.

observations still generally accepted: the seals were the product of a single workshop operating over a limited period in the eighth century.¹⁰ E. Porada named the Group in 1956 when discussing two examples from H. Goldman's excavations of EIA Tarsus, along with 52 parallels including further specimens from Syria, Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Greece.¹¹ The seals' repertoire of motifs is very wide, but lyre-players, in various type-scenes, predominate among the figural examples (14.5% of the current total). Porada, specifying a later eighth-century date, defined the style more closely, appreciating its "assured economy of means," with the "alternation of hatched and plain areas produc[ing] a pleasant variation" and "a noticeable vertical and horizontal accent in the composition."¹² She argued for an origin on Rhodes, then apparently central to the distribution and producing the greatest single concentration. She supported this with the valuable observation—still largely unappreciated—that the round-based lyres of the seals were morphologically Aegean.¹³ Having committed herself to the Rhodian hypothesis, Porada acknowledged in a postscript five further examples from Cilicia, and suggested that these were made locally under Rhodian influence.¹⁴

The picture expanded considerably with G. Buchner's excavations of Pithekoussai on Ischia (Italy), the site of an early Euboean colony (founded ca. 775). The necropolis initially produced 38 examples in 29 tombs, the closed contexts verifying Porada's later

¹⁰ Blinkenberg 1931 1 col. 161–168 ("une branche de l'art hittite tardif qui a subi des influence chypriotes," 168), 172–173, 2 pl. 18 no. 521–534 and A-L. Blinkenberg's basic propositions (1 col. 165) have been followed by Buchner and Boardman 1966:58; Boardman 1990:10; Rizzo 2007:40.

¹¹ Porada 1956.

¹² Porada 1956:186.

¹³ Porada 1956:200–204. The idea was mentioned but trivialized by Buchner and Boardman 1966:50.

¹⁴ Porada 1956:206n66.

eighth-century dating (ca. 740–720). The new specimens were published in 1966 by Buchner and J. Boardman, with parallels now bringing the total corpus to 162, and Italy and Etruria now well represented.¹⁵ The inland distribution of some seals in Syria argued against a Greek source, while the closest iconographic and stylistic parallels were in the Neo-Hittite sphere; this, along with elements of N-A influence, indicated an origin in North Syria or Cilicia, with the latter especially favored by clear sympathies in the Karatepe reliefs.¹⁶ The large numbers from Pithekoussai were explicable via Greek, and especially Euboean, trading ventures to the region (Tarsus, Al Mina), otherwise well documented.¹⁷

In 1990 Boardman augmented the collection with 58 further specimens and now promoted a North Syrian over Cilician origin from the distribution as newly understood.¹⁸

But the balance shifted decisively in 2001 when H. Poncy and others published 35 new examples from the Adana museum, so that Cilicia now rivaled Ischia as the single most productive region. The publishers also pointed out that the dark red and greenish serpentine commonly used for the seals is abundant in the Cilician plain.¹⁹ When this is combined with Buchner's and Boardman's original iconographic analysis, and that the only known sphragistic use is documented at Tarsus,²⁰ the seals' Cilician origin seems beyond reproach. Their dating would fit with the prosperous reign of Urikki of

¹⁵ Buchner and Boardman 1966. The Pithekoussai examples were fully published in Buchner and Ridgway 1993, who added three new examples (lacking lyre-players).

¹⁶ Cf. Boardman in Muscarella 1981:166 ("probably Cilicia").

¹⁷ Buchner and Boardman 1966:60–62. Euboean routes: Boardman 1980.

¹⁸ Boardman 1990, especially 10–11.

¹⁹ Cf. also Buchner and Boardman 1966:42.

²⁰ Porada 1956:186; Buchner and Boardman 1966:61; Boardman 1990:10; Scardina 2010:69.

Que/Hiyawa,²¹ prior to the Cilician revolt following the death of Sargon in 705—the culmination of which in Sennacherib’s destruction of Tarsus (696) would explain the seals’ sudden disappearance. The Cilician setting can also account, as North Syria will not so well, for the seals’ Aegean-style lyres, given the Aegean background of Urikki’s ‘House of Mopsos’ and the ‘Half-Achaeans’ (*Hypakhaioi*) of Cilicia; the Karatepe reliefs also show such an instrument, purposefully juxtaposed with one of Syro-Hittite design.²²

In 2009 M. A. Rizzo, unaware of the new Cilician seals, published 30 examples from the sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos (Rhodes), adding an Appendix of 33 further parallels not known to Boardman.²³ Embracing (casual) observations by I. Winter, Rizzo emphasized the seals’ Phoenician sympathies—these had never been denied²⁴—and rightly noted that their distribution in Italy, Etruria, and Greece adhered to patterns of Phoenician trade.²⁵ All of this caused her to revert to Porada’s Rhodian hypothesis, modified to include a Phoenician workshop on the island. But this cannot be maintained against the new Cilician seals. First, these match the Rhodian specimens in simple numbers. Second, as P. Scardina rightly notes in a balanced reassessment, Phoenician stylistic elements are perfectly intelligible in Cilicia, which enjoyed a substantial Phoenician presence and influence at this time.²⁶ This will equally account for the seals’ western distribution, including Rhodes itself; the island’s steady

²¹ Poncy et al. 2001:11.

²² For this point, Franklin 2006:45; Franklin in press (as from 2009); Scardina 2010:70.

²³ Rizzo 2007, following the preliminary description of Martelli 1988.

²⁴ Porada 1956:195–196; Buchner and Boardman 1966:60; Boardman 1990:11.

²⁵ Rizzo 2007:40, following Winter 1995:267n39.

²⁶ Scardina 2010:70; already Boardman 1990:11.

commerce with Cilicia is reflected in the contemporary ceramic record and traditions of Rhodian ‘foundation’ at Cilician Soloi and probably Tarsus itself.²⁷

A few further seals have since come to light,²⁸ and some 50 more from Pithekoussai await publication.²⁹ More will surely appear. But the current corpus of 345 separate images (some seals are four-sided) presents a sufficiently representative sample for confident analysis.

We saw that the primary function of seals—as a form of identification—is attested for the Group by an impression from Tarsus. As Boardman pointed out, however, these were “very much a . . . bazaar product,” requiring perhaps ten minutes (he suggests) to make each one.³⁰ Therefore not much evidence for sphragistic use is to be expected from elite contexts. Probably from the start these seals also served an amuletic function, as commonly in the ANE from earliest times.³¹ This helps explain what may otherwise seem a dramatic contextual shift in Cyprus, Greece, and Italy. In the first two areas, our seals are usually found as votive offerings in coastal sanctuaries.³² This distribution naturally coincides with the routes by which the seals themselves were carried; perhaps some were dedicated for safe voyages, again an apotropaic function.³³ The Italian and Etrurian finds show that the seals were indeed worn, since silver

²⁷ Soloi: Strabo 14.5.8. Bing 1971:103–104 plausibly argued for Lindians at Tarsus on the basis of Eusebius’ account (Schoene 1967 1:35) of Sennacherib building a temple of ‘Athenians’ (i.e. of Athena) there soon after its capture/destruction in 696, and the importance of Athena’s cult at Lindos.

²⁸ Westenholz 2007 no. 23a–c, f; Rizzo 2008–2009; Cerchiai and Nava 2008–2009.

²⁹ Buchner and Boardman 1966:62 Postscript; Rizzo 2007:71–72.

³⁰ Buchner and Boardman 1966:58 Boardman 1990:10 (quotation).

³¹ Porada 1956:198. See generally Collon 1987:113, 119; Sasson 1995 3:1600–1601 (Pittman).

³² Boardman 1990:10.

³³ Rizzo 2007:39–41.

mountings are sometimes found.³⁴ Many specimens come from tombs, especially on Ischia where they normally appear in graves of the young. This context especially has suggested an amuletic use.³⁵ That is probable enough, though we may equally suspect a fad at work given the narrow period of manufacture, the down-market buyership, and Pithekoussai's position in the Euboean trade network; as Boardman noted, the entire collection could fit in a single sack.³⁶ The seals' attractive designs were clearly popular, and this will have fueled production.³⁷

Turning to the actual imagery, Porada proposed that, in accord with ANE ideas, their "designs were meant to secure for the owner the protection of the deities whose symbolic animals or monsters, whose worship or ritual or whose very image appears in the seal designs"; in particular the images of birds and lions—especially one with a goddess standing on a lion—suggested some form of the 'Syrian goddess.'³⁸ Buchner and Boardman, noting the random distribution of seal-motifs in the Ischia burials, concluded that amuletic properties adhered to the seals *per se* (by virtue of their stone).³⁹ Doubtless the large repertoire of motifs was in part commercially motivated (something for everybody). But this need not invalidate Porada's sensible suggestion—even apart from the possibility that the seals were repurposed at Pithekoussai. As variable as the seals' designs are, the great majority adheres to a single underlying

³⁴ Buchner and Boardman 1966:42–43; Boardman 1990:10.

³⁵ Buchner and Boardman 1966:22–23; Boardman 1990:9–10.

³⁶ Boardman 1990:10.

³⁷ Porada 1956:198; Buchner and Boardman 1966:11.

³⁸ Porada 1956:198, noting especially B1 44 (her fig. 12). But while the individual elements of this seal can mostly be paralleled by others in the Group, its overall style is quite different, and it may well come from a different workshop.

³⁹ Buchner and Boardman 1966:22.

iconographic system. Thus any one specimen could potentially invoke the ‘meaning’ of the whole.

The Group is characterized by a tendency towards abbreviation—of more complex scenes from which one or a few elements might be extracted for a given seal; and of the elements themselves, which can appear in shorthand form, making room for other details.⁴⁰ The latter pattern is most conspicuous with the Sacred Tree, which in its fullest form includes volutes and palmette foliage, and can be flanked by detached palmettes.⁴¹ This provides the interpretive key for the free-floating palmettes and volutes which are otherwise common.⁴² When all such forms are taken together, the Sacred Tree emerges as the Group’s primary motif (appearing in 45% of the corpus).⁴³ Appearing variously within its orbit are sphinxes or gryphons, quadrupeds (deer and goats), birds (the seals’ second most common element at 43%), worshippers both human (BB 90, 160) and divine (BB 147⁴⁴), besides winged sun-disks and the occasional ankh. That the Tree stands for a goddess, as often in ANE art, is affirmed by one example where the Tree’s position between worshippers is taken by the goddess herself.⁴⁵

The iconography is certainly eclectic, and Boardman was reluctant to assign it much specific religious meaning.⁴⁶ But as D. Collon reminds us of ANE seals generally,

⁴⁰ Buchner and Boardman 1966:58; Boardman 1990:8.

⁴¹ BB 82, etc.

⁴² Buchner and Boardman 1966:56.

⁴³ Thus corroborating the analysis of Buchner and Boardman 1966:57.

⁴⁴ Two winged figures flanking the Tree as in Neo-Assyrian reliefs.

⁴⁵ BB 41c: lowest register of a three-tier seal; the middle is occupied by enthroned lyrist, table, and framedrummer (my Type IIIc).

⁴⁶ Boardman 1990:10 (“an amalgam of borrowed and native religious motifs without any very specific significance”).

“what we too often tend to regard as a haphazard collection of filling motifs had the purpose of involving as many deities and beneficent powers as possible on behalf of the seal owner.”⁴⁷ The Lyre-Player Group’s dynamic range recalls the Cypro-Phoenician bowls—if one viewed them with a periscope. Indeed the bowls are a vital parallel. For their thematic material is equally wide-ranging, with scenes of daily life and the decorative treatment of elements from several traditions; but this *mélange* does not negate the religious connotations of the frequent musical cult-scene, which persisted throughout their life-cycle on Cyprus, part of their home territory.⁴⁸ As it happens, the seals which feature lyre-players assume a rather similar backdrop. I have analyzed this subset into several Types, which I rank in order of the apparent importance of the Lyre-Player himself (see table below, with Figure 1). I say ‘apparent’, and now use a singular, capitalized ‘Lyre-Player,’ because all Types, I propose, participate in a single iconographic sub-system which may be deduced from them collectively, with each Type taking its meaning from the others.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Motifs</u>	<u>Exemplars</u> ⁴⁹
I	Standing Winged Lyrism, Sacred Tree	2
IIa	Standing Lyrism, Sacred Tree, Bird	3

⁴⁷ Collon 1987:119, cf. 170.

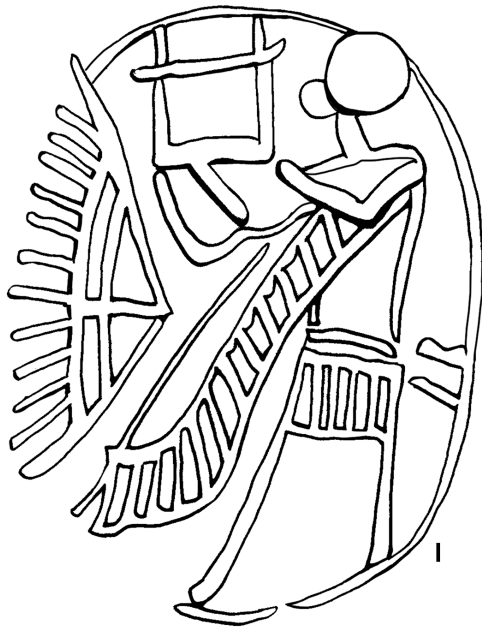
⁴⁸ See Franklin 2014.

⁴⁹ Numbers according to the following publications: A (Adana) = Poncy et al. 2001. BB = Buchner and Boardman 1966. B2 = Boardman 1990. I (Ialysos) = Rizzo 2007. IAP = Rizzo 2007 Appendix. SAM = Westenholtz 2007, not including two catalogued in B2. Type I: A1; B2 164. IIa: BB 9; IAP 11, 23. IIb: A2, 6; BB 7–8, 45, 89, 137; B2 120⁵; IAP 7, 10; Rizzo 2008–2009, fig. 2; SAM 23f. IIC: BB 88, 126; B2 113⁵. IID: A5. IIIa: A7–8; BB 118; I 6; SAM 23a. IIIb: B2 163; I 5. IIIC: BB 41 (middle register), 125; SAM 23c. IIId: A3; BB 114, 139a; B2 113bis, 113ter; IAP 12, 14; SAM 23b. IIIE: B2 113quater. IIIf: B2 165. IVa: I 3. IVb: I 4. IVc: A4, 11; BB 103, 161; I 2. Va: B2 120ter. Vb: BB 162; B2 62quater, 120bis, 167 (?); IAP 1. Vc: BB 115.

IIb	Standing Lyrist, Bird	12
IIc	Standing Lyrist, Sphinx/Gryphon	3
IId	Standing Lyrist, Bird, Devotee (?)	1
IIIa	Enthroned Lyrist, Sacred Tree	5
IIIb	Enthroned Lyrist, Drinking	2
IIIc	Enthroned Lyrist, Table, Female Drummer	3
IIId	Enthroned Lyrist, Female Drummer	8
IIIe	Enthroned Lyrist, Fish	1
IIIf	Enthroned Lyrist, Devotee (?)	1
IVa	Standing Lyrist, Sacred Tree, Female Drummer	1
IVb	Dancing Lyrist, Female Drummer, Ankh	1
IVc	Standing Lyrist, Piper, Drummer Trio	5
Va	Seated Figure, Standing Lyrist, Two Devotees	1
Vb	Seated Figure, Trio, Devotees	5
Vc	Seated Figure, Lyrist and Piper, Devotees	1

What may be regarded as the full cult-scene is found only occasionally. In several variations (Types Va–c) it shows an enthroned figure attended by musicians and other devotees, sometimes with an offering.⁵⁰ This is clearly a form of the ritual banquet so common in ANE art; and here as elsewhere one cannot distinguish between human and

⁵⁰ The fullest certain scenes are B2 62quater, 120bis, and IAP 1. Boardman 1990:8 regarded the Seyrig seal (B2 167) as most complete; but this seal's attribution to the Group is rightly questioned by Scardina 2010:68 and n20, along with the recent find from Monte Vetrano (Salerno)—another complex lyre-and-drinking rite (Cerchiai and Nava 2008–2009, fig. 8b), but with none of the defining stylistic feature of the Lyre-Player Group. Of course these further seals are still of great interest as representing parallel workshops within closely related traditions.



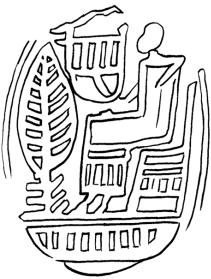
IIa



IIb



IIc



IIIa



IIIb



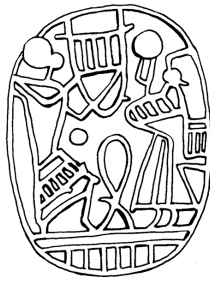
IIIc



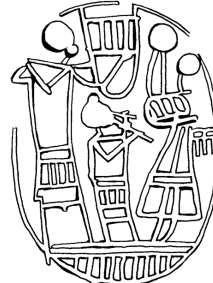
IIId



IVa



IVb



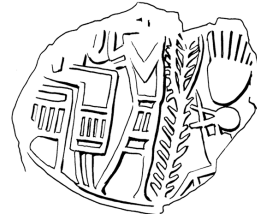
IVc



Va



Vb



Vc

divine beneficiaries.⁵¹ The ambiguity is reinforced by the identical clothing of the seated figure and the winged gods in other specimens.⁵²

As with the Cypro-Phoenician bowls, where lyrists predominate despite considerable variation in the ensembles' make-up, the Lyrist in our seals is the only musical constant; he appears alone (Va), with a double-piper (Vc), or with the standard Syro-Levantine trio of lyre, pipes, and framedrum (Vb). The same favoritism applies in Type IV, but now the focus narrows to the cult-scene's musical dimension. The full trio/orchestra can be shown (IVc), or just the Lyrist and framedrummer (IVa–IVb). The latter—reminiscent of Hittite ritual texts calling for lyre and drum together⁵³—leave room for an abbreviated Sacred Tree, and reveal the ultimate center of the celebration, thus explaining the apparent precedence of musical performance per se over the enthroned listener of Type V.

This conclusion is corroborated by Type III, which presents a startling shift. For the throne is now occupied by the Lyre-Player himself, who is thus drawn into the human-divine borderland which this seat entails. The mutual coherence of Types III and IV is shown by the pivotal and frequent IIIId, where the Lyrist again faces a female framedrummer, but is now the clear focus of her performance—a striking prediction of Pindar's Cypriot choruses around Kinyras.⁵⁴ That the seated Lyrist is one-and-the-same as the enthroned figure of Type V's full cult-scenes is shown by the other variations in Type III, which implicate him in the banquet. He drinks through a straw from a large vessel (IIIb), an ancient Mesopotamian motif relatively scarce by now, but seen on the

⁵¹ Porada 1956:198; Buchner and Boardman 1966.

⁵² Buchner and Boardman 1966:44, 57.

⁵³ KUB 20, 19 + 51, 87 rev. IV 12'–14'; KBo 21, 34 II 9–10. See Schuol 2004:98, 100.

⁵⁴ Pindar *Pythian* 2.13–20.

roughly contemporary Hubbard amphora from Cyprus.⁵⁵ The feast- or offerings-table can appear between the Lyrist and the framedrummer (IIIc), reiterating the connection of her performance with the larger rite, while maintaining the Lyre-Player's twofold role as both singer and song-recipient. A puzzling variant shows the Lyrist with a fish (IIIe), though it is worth noting that Kinyras himself had maritime associations.⁵⁶ In a final permutation, the enthroned Lyrist adores the Sacred Tree (IIIa): whatever honors he himself receives is passed on through his own performance to this higher power. This connection is also illustrated by the lower register of BB 41c (Type IIIc), an explicit scene of goddess worship. This dual focus is precisely what is seen in a thirteenth-century bronze stand from Kourion (Cyprus)—an enthroned musician who mediates between his celebrants and a Sacred Tree standing for a Goddess.⁵⁷

With Type II we return to the standing Lyrist of Type IV. But now the exalted status granted by Type III is maintained through winged familiars. Most common (IIb) is a bird, that ancient companion of lyre scenes—and indeed lyre-morphology—in the ANE and Aegean, typically suggesting divine inspiration and epiphany through music. This idea is not invalidated for our seals by the bird's appearance in other groupings; that the bird itself stands for divinity is shown by seals where it takes the place of goddess or Tree as the object of adoration.⁵⁸ This reading of the Lyrist-bird conjunction is corroborated by the inclusion of a devotee in one variant (IIId) and the Sacred Tree in

⁵⁵ This comparison was made by Boardman 1990:8–9. Hubbard amphora: Nicosia, 1938/XI-2/3; Dikaïos 1936–1937; Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974 1:8–9, 2:7–9.

⁵⁶ Franklin in press.

⁵⁷ London 1920/12–20/1 (height 12.2 cm.; ring diameter 9.4): Catling 1964 no. 34 (205–206 and pl. 34 a–d); Matthäus 1985 no. 704 (314–315 and pl. 100, 102); Papasavvas 2001 no. 23: 239–240 and 351–352, fig. 42–47. For discussion see Franklin in press.

⁵⁸ BB 12–13, 152, etc.

another (IIa). Similarly exalted tones are roused by the gryphon or sphinx who accompanies the musician in Type IIc.

The Lyre-Player, progressively assimilated to royal and divine registers in Types IV, III, and II, achieves full apotheosis in Type I. This is represented by only two precious exemplars, unknown when the seals were first studied.⁵⁹ Again the Lyrist stands before the Sacred Tree, but now magnificently winged.⁶⁰ He is a fully fledged god in his own right—his own rite.

The oscillation between seated and standing lyre-players had already suggested to Porada the possibility that “in these scenes the lyre player is no ordinary mortal or even a priestly musician but the god Apollo.”⁶¹ Buchner and Boardman were more cautious about the seated musician: “the other lyre-players seem not to be divinities, and there is no lyre-player god, Greek or eastern, with both a bird and a sphinx as familiars.”⁶² Both statements were shaped by the search for the seals’ origin: ‘Apollo’ would support Porada’s Rhodian hypothesis, but undermine the Cilician/North Syrian analysis. True, Buchner and Boardman include the qualification “Greek or eastern” in their agnostic declaration. But what ‘eastern lyre-player god’ could they have named *at all*—with or without bird and sphinx? For that was before Kinnaru had risen again from Ugarit. The Type I seals change the picture completely, as Boardman himself recognized:

The role of the lyre player, as recipient of attention or himself an attendant, is ambivalent . . . We were reluctant to accord him divine

⁵⁹ One was first published by Boardman in Muscarella 1981:166.

⁶⁰ BB 4, 48, 147.

⁶¹ Porada 1956:200.

⁶² Buchner and Boardman 1966:50.

status. Now, however . . . he is found winged and the possibility of his divinity has to be entertained.⁶³

But even this is surely too cautious. Boardman himself went on to compare two Cypriot cult-shrines which he had previously connected with the Homeric expression “divine singer” (*theîos aoidós*).⁶⁴ Then too he had puzzled over the identity of this eastern Lyre God, hoping his name might one day be discovered.

There should now be little doubt that the seals’ winged Lyre-Player is closely akin to Kinnaru of Ugarit and Kinyras of Cyprus. By whatever form of the name he was known to the artisan and his apprentices who cut the seals, these remarkable images provide a welcome and solid basis for the literary traditions of a Syro-Cilician Kinyras. And they give us our clearest representation of a Divine Lyre. That the instrument is never shown alone is consistent with the vital role of performance in summoning the divine. But *the lyre itself* is effectively spotlighted as the common ground in all five Types—from the cultic musicians of V–IV, through the royal lyrists of III, and the increasingly numinous II and I. At the climactic epiphany, the Divine Lyre stands before his Goddess, serving her in song—embodying all cult performers and the lyrist-king himself. Here is the very essence of Kinyras.

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⁶³ Boardman 1990:7, 10.

⁶⁴ Boardman 1971; for these pieces see also Mlynarczyk 1983.

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